

Western Carolinian.

It is even wise to abstain from laws, which, however wise and good in themselves, have the semblance of inequality, which find no response in the heart of the citizen, and which will be evaded with little remorse. The wisdom of legislation is especially seen in grafting laws on conscience.

Dr. Channing.

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VARIETY.

LAFAYETTE.

FROM THE NEW-YORK ATLAS.

If the reader should think himself sufficiently familiar with the eventful life of Lafayette not to require a copy of his biography—we yet believe a perusal of the short memoir we this day lay before him will, in spite of his feeling, have sufficient attractions to induce a change in the opinion. Reviving the impression of so many important transactions and trying scenes in which General Lafayette has borne a part, it will kindle anew his personal admiration and respect, and his gratitude and veneration as a lover of mankind. It will, to the American reader, be a further source of gratification to find that he to whom the Republic has been so much indebted, and to whom all her sons have been proud to manifest their recollection of his generous efforts in their behalf, is now that time has obliterated the feelings of national dislike excited by those efforts, so estimated in the impartial judgments of those who cannot in any wise be swayed by selfish prejudices. The high terms of commendation bestowed on the veteran friend of liberty in the sketch we have quoted are from an English pen: and when, to this language of a London journalist we add the equally warm expressions used by the authors of the letters from Paris, (some of which we have copied,) and those employed by the speakers at the public meetings in England, as well as the cheers with which his name has been hailed on such occasions, we shall have satisfactory proof that the estimation which a stranger might ascribe to blind partiality, is in fact only a homage to worth and virtue, paid from the sober dictates of justice and of truth.

General Lafayette, by the course he has pursued in the recent astonishing measures at Paris, has placed the adamantine keystone of the golden arch of his fame. Two years before the Throne attempted the prostration of the rights of the People, and thus called forth once more this asserter of the claims of freedom. M. David, a sculptor of Paris had executed a bust of Lafayette, as a mark of the affectionate regard and admiration felt towards the General by himself and the young Parisians. This testimonial was presented to the Congress of the United States, to receive a place in the Capitol by the side of the monument of Washington. The letter which accompanied the gift expresses so justly the character of the hero and so strikingly exhibits those feelings to which, under the most trying circumstances, truth has set its seal, that we cannot refrain from repeating some of its paragraphs:

"The youth of the French nation is filled with admiration for the virtues of the youth and old age of him of whom I send you a likeness. They envy the glory that was acquired upon the American soil, by the side of the immortal Washington, in the defence of your noble rights. They envy that glory which has been acquired on the soil of France, in the midst of the troubles of Paris and Versailles, where, in breasting the storm, he wanted courage as little in the struggles of debate, as he did in contending with the sword. They envy that glory which covers the front bleached by age, but still sparkling with the fire of liberty and of patriotism."

How nobly has the testimony so eloquently expressed since been vindicated; and how doubly enhanced is that glory thus envied by the splendid events in which the youth of France proved the sincerity of these declarations, when sharing with the veteran his last and most illustrious actions in the career of honorable fame.

The sentiments manifested in the letter of M. David so long before the late unexpected crisis are conclusive of what perhaps needed no such proof, that the combined energy in conflict, and moderation in victory, which then pre eminently distinguished the population of Paris, were largely attributable to the influence of Lafayette. This influence, so honorable to himself, and so beneficial to those around him, is owing solely to individual merit, and to the respect secured by his public and private virtues. If his biographer speaks of him as "unquestionably the most distinguished man in public life of his country, or perhaps of himself can at this moment would unhesitatingly confer a much more enviable distinction than any gained in the common walks of fame—very far transcending that of any man now living, if not of any that ever yet has lived."

In the ranks of true greatness then, the name of Lafayette will always be entitled to a place among the highest, and will be held in distinguished honor when those of an Alexander and a Caesar are forgotten. They perished in early life, having immolated thousands to their selfish ambition. He survives, and closes the history of a life of disinterested devotion to the good of mankind, by a series of active military services, and patriotic senatorial counsels, after passing the ordinary limits of human existence—vigorous both in mind and body, beyond the rare reached boundary of "three score years and ten."

GENERAL LAFAYETTE.

The family of Lafayette has long occupied a distinguished rank in the history of France. In 1422, the Marshal Lafayette defeated our Duke of Clarence at Beauge, and thus preserved his country from the domination of Henry VIII. The father of the present General was killed at the battle of Minden in 1759—two years after the birth of his son, who was born at Auvergne, September 6, 1759.

After having considerably distinguished himself by the success of his studies at the College of Duplessis at Paris, young Lafayette entered the army at the age of sixteen years; and a very short time afterwards he married a daughter of the Duke d'Ayen, a descendant in a right line from the celebrated chancellor d'Aguesseau. From this time possessed of an ample fortune, and connected by birth and marriage with the highest families of the kingdom a sufficiently brilliant destiny seemed naturally prepared for him by the ordinary circumstances in which he found himself placed, but these were advantages which he owed to chance alone, and they were not, therefore, of a nature to satisfy his ardent and enthusiastic mind, which panted for distinctions originating with itself alone.

About this period it was that the Revolution broke out which finally severed from England her rebellious colonies of America. This great and spirit-stirring event at once took possession of the mind of Lafayette, and he determined to take an active part in the progress of it. Accordingly, having come to England and spent a few days here in conference with certain favorers of the Revolutionary party, he embarked secretly for the New World, where he arrived, at Charleston, on the 25th of April, 1777. As his name was already known, his arrival in America produced a considerable sensation—especially as at this particular moment the cause of the Revolution had suffered numerous reverses which had much discouraged its supporters. Lafayette, immediately on his arrival, was offered a command in the Revolutionary army—which, however, (in order to do away any idea of the nature of his views in visiting the country) he decidedly refused, but set about raising a corps, which were clothed and equipped at his own sole expense. On the 31st of the July following his arrival in America, he was, by a decree of Congress, appointed to the rank of Major General,—he being then not twenty years of age. For eighteen months the youthful General remained in America, having, during that period, been promoted to the chief command of a division. Feeling, however, that he could better serve the cause he had espoused, by quitting the country for a time, he did so, and returned to France, where he was very coolly received by the Court of Versailles. Nevertheless, he succeeded in persuading the minister M. de Maurepas, to lead the aid of ships, troops, and money, to the Americans. Having succeeded in this mission, he returned to America, and immediately on his arrival resumed his command, and distinguished himself in the most remarkable manner, both for valor and military skill. The siege of Yorktown, the taking of the redoubt, and the final reduction of the place, will remain an evidence of his great military talent.

After having witnessed the recognition of these great services by a solemn vote of Congress, Lafayette again returned to France to obtain fresh assistance from the government of that country; in which object he fully succeeded; not, however, till the intended aid was no longer needed—as, by the time the French expedition (consisting of forty vessels and twenty thousand troops) reached Cadiz, news was brought that a treaty of peace had been signed between England and her rebellious colonies. Still Lafayette proceeded on his third voyage to America, where he was again received with the most enthusiastic welcome. He remained in America for some time, but returned to France in 1785, at a moment when the public mind in the latter country was becoming greatly agitated relative to political questions; and shortly after his return the first Assembly of Notables took

place, of which Lafayette formed a part, and in a meeting of which he was the first to demand a convocation of the Representatives of the People. In 1789 Lafayette was a member of the National Assembly, and he there proposed the celebrated declaration of "The Rights of Man," as the fundamental basis of all political institutions, and on which, in fact, the different charters, &c., are founded which have been given to France since that period—including the one which has just been so grossly violated. A very few days after the above proposal, he was named Commander-in-Chief of the National Guard of Paris—the appointment which has now more than forty years after, been again confined to him under glorious circumstances, and it was in the above character that he was the first to display the tri-colored cockade.

Shortly after his appointment to the command of the National Guard, Lafayette had an opportunity of showing his fine presence of mind, in saving the life of Marie Antoinette at Versailles, where a great body of the people had marched from Paris, accompanied by the National Guard, and in spite of all the efforts of the latter, had contrived to penetrate into the Palace by a passage that was little known. Lafayette on this occasion exercised his influence over the people and caused them to retire from the Palace without doing the fatal mischief for which they were so well prepared and disposed. When the Federation of the 14th of July took place, the supreme command of the whole of the National Guards was conferred upon Lafayette, and idolized as he was by the people and the army, he may then be said to have been the actual head of the French nation, and have had its destinies at his disposal.

When in the month of June following, the King, Louis XVI, endeavored to escape from France, Lafayette, during the first moment of public excitement and impatience caused by this attempt, was accused of having favored the movement of the King; but the measures which he afterwards adopted, and which resulted in the arrest of the King at Varennes, removed this imputation from him.

Under all the extraordinary circumstances in which Lafayette had hitherto been placed, he had invariably directed his conduct by rules and principles drawn equally from the legal rights of the King and of the People—a moderation which causes him to become the object of fear and hatred to those parties who had other views than the success of right, and the progress of justice; in fact, he was hated no less by the violent republicans, than the violent royalists, and became an object of the injurious intrigues of both.

In 1792, he was appointed one of the three commanders of the French army in the war against Austria; and during his necessary absence from the Capital on his duty, several members of the National Assembly having brought specious accusations against him, a spirit of distrust was excited against him in the army, and being assured that a price was about to be set upon his life, he took the step of retiring from France, in which he was accompanied by M. Alexander Lameth, and several distinguished general officers. He became a prisoner in Austria, and was not enabled to return to France till after the 18th Brumaire.

During the supremacy of Napoleon, the latter made repeated attempts to engage Lafayette in his service and interest, but was never successful—the real and uncompromising friend of liberty not having any feeling or motive of action in common with one who was his bitterest foe. During the whole term of Napoleon's power, Lafayette lived in the most complete retirement, chiefly on his estate of La Grange, where he was engaged in agricultural pursuits. The return of the Bourbons in 1814, did not offer an occasion for any change in the mode of life pursued by Lafayette, any more than the return of Napoleon from Elba—on which latter occasion, the offers and wishes of the Emperor were again renewed, and a second time refused.

Called shortly afterwards to sit as representative of the people in the Chamber of Deputies, at the period when all Europe was in arms against France, Lafayette took no part in the proceedings of the body of which he was a member, till it became a question as to the integrity of France as an independent nation. He then proposed certain measures, which, however wise and necessary, circumstances rendered unavailing, and Paris was again occupied by foreign troops.

Once more returning to his private station, he was again called thence to sit in the Chamber of Deputies, where he acted in a manner perfectly consistent with the whole tenor of his past life. Finding, however, that his voice there was of little avail, he some months ago accepted an

invitation from the United States of America, to re visit those shores; and witness the prosperity which he had so mainly assisted in creating. The enthusiasm with which he was received there, must have been among the most gratifying events of his life; but he could little then have looked for that still more striking series of events which has crowned his days with a degree of glory that has seldom, if ever, awaited any other individual in modern times and which none other has more conspicuously deserved. That liberty, for which he shed his blood in early youth, in behalf of another country, has at length been fully achieved for his own; and Lafayette, still in the vigor of his health and faculties, is once more commander, of the National Guards of France, and unquestionably the most distinguished man, in public estimation, which his country, or perhaps the civilized world itself, can at this moment boast of.

Old Dominion.

FROM THE BANNER OF THE CONSTITUTION.

From the movements in many of our cities amongst the mechanics and working men, as they are called, it is very evident that the social order is disturbed, and that they will not amongst them those who will fairly point out the causes of their suffering. We do not allude to the political juggling which has been resorted to in some quarters, to turn the discontents of the working classes to party account, but to the murmurs of those honest, well-meaning, and worthy citizens, who from want of employment find it difficult to maintain their families—They perceive there is something wrong in the machinery of society, but as they cannot perceive where the evil originates, they are like a man in the dark groping about to find what was that struck him a blow on the head. But this is not the worst of it. They refuse to listen to those who are willing and able to teach them the cause of their sufferings, and seem to shudder at the very thoughts of listening to an argument, although they may be just as capable of understanding it, and of refuting it, if unsound, as many a Phil. lawyer. But no; they prefer shadows to substance. They suffer themselves to be gulled by such terms as "American System," when the system so called is the true British system; "protection of domestic industry," which means compelling Peter to give Paul ten dollars for a coat that is worth but five; "Internal Improvements," which means taxing Peter, in the State of Maine, to enable Paul, in Louisiana, to construct a canal to enable him to carry to market at a cheaper rate, his sugar, which he already makes Peter pay double price for. So long, therefore, as such delusion prevails, a mitigation of the evil cannot be looked for.

The real truth, is that the principal cause of the suffering complained of by the working men, is the very system which they madly hug to their bosoms. The restrictive system diminishes the aggregate production of the labor of the whole community, and consequently the share of things which each one draws out of the common stock, which will always be in exact proportion to his just claims upon it, must be less than it would be if there was no restriction of industry. If the latter should make his own shoes, as well as his own hats, and the shoemaker should make his hats, as well as his own shoes, instead of each one sticking to that business in which he had an advantage over the other, the joint production of hats and shoes under the former system would be less than under the latter, and of course each would be worse covered worse shod. This is so plain and so clear, that there is not a working man in the land who cannot see its truth. And what is true of individuals is true of nations. If a carpenter, a bricklayer, a plasterer, a painter, a glazier, and others who are concerned in house building, who cannot in the nature of things have any protection on their industry, seeing that ready made houses are not usually imported from foreign countries, are obliged to pay ten dollars, or what is the same thing, ten days' labor, for a coat, which, under a system of duties imposed for revenue solely, they could get for five days' labor, we should like to know how the American System can benefit them. It cannot increase the demand for their labor, because, as every body else has to pay double price for their clothes, they must have less to expend in building houses.

THE WEST INDIA TRADE.

While negotiations were pending, and it was doubtful whether the British Government would consent to open their West India ports to the vessels of the United States, the Clay papers

ridiculed the idea that the present administration could succeed in an object in which their champion had been foiled. They declared that the British Government was too sensible of the importance of that trade to this country, to grant a reciprocal commerce with her colonies, and that the friends of Gen. Jackson were holding out delusive hopes to influence the elections. This was their language when they believed the negotiation would fail. But the moment they discover that Mr. M'Lane's perseverance and intelligence have accomplished what the bungling and vacillating policy of the last administration had lost, their tune is changed. They now, with characteristic regard for consistency, and truth, declare the trade to be worth nothing,—and some of them are even endeavoring to prove that it will be a serious injury to the country! Such is the course of the opposition.

No State, perhaps, in the Union, will be more benefitted by this trade, than North Carolina—but we are told here, even in Newbern, that its importance will be trifling. Four years ago, we had between 30 and 40 West India-mea, owned in Newbern, and laden exclusively, with grain and lumber from our fields and forests, and now, by the loss of that trade, we have not more than 10. Staves sold then for \$8 and \$10 per M. and shingles from 1 30 to 1 75—and now, the former command about \$4, and the latter, from 75 cents to \$1. Our country people, whose only dependence, for years, has been upon the sale of their lumber, have been injured beyond conception. By the opening of these Islands, our oak and pine forests will increase 25 per cent. in value, and in a very short time, the farmer will find, by the increased prices of his produce, the beneficial effects of this new avenue of trade.

It is amusing to notice the contemptible efforts of these men of Clay to bolster up Sir Harry of the West.—Their expedients however, will avail them nothing. Henry Clay will never be the President of these United States. The principles and policy of the last administration, have accomplished his ruin, while every act of Gen. Jackson but endears him the more to his fellow citizens.

Sentinel.

THE TRUTH AT LAST.

We find the following lamentation credited to the *Record of the Times*, a decided Clay paper. It is so rarely that we find any of the opposition papers exhibiting a disposition to deal fairly with their readers, by telling the honest truth, that we feel disposed to award all due credit to their party by noticing these rare instances of honesty and fair dealing among the organs of a political faction, who expect to derive power from the people, by deceiving them in order to govern the country by fraud! It was but yesterday that the National Journal of this city, had the impudence to give false news to its readers, in relation to the election in Philadelphia. Were no principle to be consulted, it would seem to most men, that such a course must terminate in ruin, and a man of ordinary sagacity would avoid it, because repeated convictions of wilful falsehood or mendacity must necessarily lessen the usefulness of an editor to his party however badly constituted that party may be. Those falsehoods are insults to the readers of a paper. The practice of uttering them is predicated upon the supposed ignorance of the reader. Those who have no other means of obtaining political information, than those afforded by the two "Nationals" of this city, may for a time be deceived. When events are constantly falsifying their assertions, even these will seek some less erring sources for ascertaining the opinions and proceedings of their fellow citizens in distant parts of the country.

U. S. Tel.

The sun has some spots on its surface and the best and brightest characters are not without their faults and frailties.

Many persons sacrifice their present happiness to their future advantage, and die before the period of fruition arrives.

To the Citizens of the Congressional District composed of the Counties of Spotsylvania, Louisa, Orange and Madison.

Fellow Citizens—Having accepted a judicial appointment under the Federal Government, I am about once more, to dissolve the tie, which binds me to you, in the relation of Representative, and to retire from your service.

Under these circumstances, I feel impelled, if not by a sense of duty, at least by inclination, to say a few words to you at parting. With the exception of the period of the 19th Congress, it has been my fortune to have represented you, in uninterrupted continuity, for 16 years last past.

On my part, all that I can pretend to, is—that I have endeavored to serve you to the utmost extent of my ability, with zeal and fidelity. On your part, during the whole of that time, I have experienced, so much steadiness of support, when you thought me right, so much allowance for human fallibility, when you thought me wrong, and such uniform kindness, at all times, and on all occasions, that I may say, with a figure, "that your service has been perfect freedom." I will add, that in retiring from it, I feel engraven upon my heart, a sense of gratitude, which neither time, nor other cause can ever obliterate, whatsoever of good or ill may befall me, in future life.

As it would be doing injustice to my feelings, not to make this declaration, so I am persuaded, that the circumstances under which it is made, will in your estimation, give it full credit for perfect sincerity. For now at least, I cannot have any other, save only the pleasure arising, from the outpouring of the grateful sensibilities of a heart, full to overflowing.

As it respects the cause, which has induced me a second time to withdraw from the political theatre, I am sure, it will be esteemed by you, justification enough for me to say—That the toll incident to a service in Congress, and the duties of a laborious profession, is more than I can bear. In a word—"That weariness waxes apace;" not the repose of indolence, for it is not in my nature to indulge in that, but that of *miserable labor*.

Here, perhaps, I might with propriety close this valediction—But my feelings prompt me irresistibly to go further, and I yield obedience to the impulse.

Ever since the formation of our present Federal Government, we have been divided into political parties. The great line of demarcation, has been, between those who advocate an *enlarged*, and those who advocate a *restricted* construction, of the Constitution of the U. States.

To the latter party it has been my pride and boast to have belonged, through the whole course of my public life—And to its doctrines, I have endeavored to point in my public acts with an unvarying polarity.

I have done this, because it has been, and still is, my sincere belief—that such a course steadily pursued, will lead directly to the happiness and prosperity of our common country.

It is not my purpose at this time, to enter into any speculative discussion, upon this subject.

I have heretofore on the floor of Congress exhausted all my views in relation to it—and moreover, the views of others, especially those of Virginia, as exhibited in the luminous report of her legislature in 1799, are before the public. Put on this occasion the last during my life on which I ever expect to address you, in your sovereign character, I ask solemn attention, to a few remarks which I propose to make founded upon experience and observation.

These two antagonist principles of *latitude* and *restrictive* construction, have for now more than forty years, vied with each other with varying success.—Behold the practical results as the one, or the other predominated.

The present century opened with the great civil revolution, which placed in the chief executive chair, the apostle of true principles, and the head of the political church, whose articles of faith I profess.

Compare this period of our political history, including that of the administrations which succeeded it, and were formed upon the model of this great archetype, with that during which the opposite principle was lord of the ascendant.—And judge them in the utmost candour, by the fruits which they have respectively produced.

Under the doctrine of *restricted* construction, we have enjoyed freedom of speech and of the press.—We have had a well regulated economy, in every department of the Government.—We have had harmonious concert in general, between the Federal and State authorities.—And last, but not least, the States and the people of the states, were left to reap the fruits of their own toil, diminished only by the necessary amount of the public dues.—Of this last advantage it may well be said, that it is one of the primary objects of every good government. As the natural consequence of these, we have had during their continuance, a rapidly growing prosperity, and with one stri-

king exception, a general quietude and contentment amongst our people.

Under the ascendancy of the doctrine of enlarged and indefinite construction, mark, I beseech you, the reverse of this picture.

Under its reign we had, at an early period of our history, the alien and sedition laws, on which a large majority of the American people, have impressed the stamp of their decided reprobation.

At a very late period, we have seen immense expenditures of public money, and which were every year becoming greater, characterized by the injustice of being raised from the substance of the whole community, and appropriated for the benefit of a part only, and that frequently the part, which furnishes the least portion of the contribution.—We have seen the constitution so as to enable Congress to appropriate millions, for internal improvement—a matter of policy, which I verily believe, belongs to the local authorities of the States.—We have seen the power of laying and collecting duties, distorted from its constitutional purpose of raising revenue, to that of regulating the labor of the country.—By force of this construction, under the name of a Tariff of duties, the labor of one part of the country is severely taxed, that of another, may be successfully applied to manufactures.—Tho' it is obvious, that either, labor thus applied, was less profitable than other labor, in which aspect, it was *impolitic*, or, that manufactures did not want this aid, in which aspect, it was *oppressive and unjust*.

This latter doctrine, with all its evil consequences in its train, is now in the full tide of *anjust*, and as those who are interested say, *unsuccessful* experiment. We who are obliged to pay the price of this experiment, have complained, we have remonstrated, we have reasoned, we have almost entreated.—But the majority feeling their strength, have with a firm and steady step moved on towards their object, which, to attain the end they have in view, must be finally *prohibition*.

And what is the result, let me ask you, as now exhibited amongst our people? It is a melancholy truth, nay, it is a matter of history, that a deep and settled discontent pervades a very large portion of the country.—Indeed, some have thought, that they have perceived in the signs of the times, threatening indications of a coming storm, which would scatter to the winds this beautiful federative machine of ours, in broken fragments.

Amidst the hitherto determined perseverance of the majority, and the murmuring disquietude of the minority—good men have seemed to be almost ready to give up all hope of a successful issue to our great political experiment.—Of which, it is not too much to say, that as it is the *best*, so in the event of its failure, it would probably be the *last* hope of the world, for self-government.

They have feared, that we too like other nations which have gone before, should first be involved in civil war, then anarchy, and finally perish as a people, and be blotted from the map of the world, as to our independent political existence.

It would be the part of wisdom, even under any extremity of circumstances, to take counsel, and derive a ray of consolation, from the noble maxim of the Romans, *never to despair of the Republic*.

For my own part, although past experience does not much countenance such an expectation, yet I will not entirely despair of some relief from the majority. I trust in God, that they will in the school of that very experience have learned a lesson of moderation.—That they will have learned to estimate more highly, the complaints of a minority.—To appreciate the moral and political benefits of this Union, as of more worth, than roads, canals, manufactures, or any other similar advantage.—To feel, that it is pride of heart alone, which would make them consider its defeat, to concede to a minority.—In fine, to consider it, as in truth it is, not a *surrender to the menaces*, but a *concession to the remonstrances* of a minority, who believe themselves to be oppressed, and call aloud for relief from their oppression. Nor are we without a memorable example of such a magnanimous concession. Witness the repeal of the Embargo not as we are informed by Mr. Jefferson himself, from any change in his opinion, as to its policy.—No, my fellow countrymen, it was done in deference to the complaints of New England, and in the spirit of conciliation and harmony. And why shall not New England, and other manufacturing portions of the Union, in their turn, emulate so distinguished an example? It is for them, not me, to answer this solemn inquiry.

Should, however, the majority in Congress, contrary to our just expectation, still press on in their course, regardless of the voice of a complaining people, then we have the consoling hope, that there is another department of the Government, whose moderation will be interposed to save us, from those appalling evils, which many fear, and which all good men must deprecate.

Under the auspices of the present administration, we have seen some mitigation of the pressure of the Tariff, upon

some of the necessities of life.—We have seen a check put by the interposition of the Executive veto, to the career of improvident expenditure, in Internal Improvement.

Let us indulge the hope, that this good work will go on, and that the principle out of which these late measures grew, will be expanded into more extensive practical usefulness.

Under this brightening prospect of better times, which has recently burst upon our vision, under the hopeful auguries of the future, which we may thus derive from the past, let us have philosophy enough, yet to bear and forbear; let us remember, that if we cannot feel *patient* under oppression, it behooves us, as we love our country, yet to check our *impatience*, so as to do nothing which might hereafter be the subject of regret. Let us yet try further argument, further remonstrance, I had almost said entreaty. And is it, can it, be too sanguine a hope to be indulged, that if the one party shall practice a moderation, which will bear with their brethren, though seven times offended and the other shall remember, that there is a point at which forbearance ceases to be a virtue, we may yet have a happy issue out of all our afflictions? I trust that this will be the result, and that the union of the states will be as durable as the everlasting hills.

In conclusion, my countrymen, I bid you an affectionate farewell, from the bottom of my heart.—And I offer an earnest prayer that He whose arm is mighty to save, will protect our beloved country, in every time of need, and that her high destinies according to our fondest hopes will be fulfilled.

Most respectfully, your fellow citizen,
P. P. BARBOUR.

Orange, Oct 20, 1830.

"Dr. Cullars, of Abbeville District, S. C. has offered himself as a candidate for Congress, in opposition to Mr. McDuffie. Although the latter gentleman has gone over to the Nullifiers, he is so valuable generally as a legislator and orator, that we should be sorry to see him supplanted in Congress, even by the most orthodox politician. More advantage may be always expected by the nation from his powers and principles, than injury from any particular error of doctrine into which he may fall. The cause of Nullification could not be long upheld by any individual—Atlas or Ajax; but the strength of such supporters when sure to be applied to better purposes, is above all price and ever worthy of preference."

The above paragraph is copied from the Philadelphia National Gazette, and we heartily concur in the doctrine laid down. An able and faithful public servant should not be rejected from any particular and temporary error of doctrine into which he may fall." If the general course of a representative of the people has been unexceptionable, he deserves to be continued in his trust. The general good requires that experience in public affairs, and eminent talents should not be sacrificed on the altar of party or for a difference of opinion.

Charleston Patriot.

Mail Contracts.—Those who went from this section of the country to Washington for the purpose of entering into contracts for carrying the mails, have generally returned, and we learn that the following disposition of the routes in this quarter has been made: The line from Petersburg to Fayetteville has again been given to Messrs Saltmarsh & Co. who have also, obtained that from Fayetteville to Norfolk, at present in possession of Mr. Thompson. Mr. George Williams and Mr. Merritt Dilliard have obtained their old lines—the former from this place to Salisbury, and the latter from hence to Newbern. Mr. David Sauls has obtained the one from this city to Hillsborough, which is at present held by Mr. John Moring.

[In this quarter there has been some alteration made. The line from Fayetteville through Charlotte to Lincolnton, was taken by Mr. Emanuel Reinhardt of Lincolnton, the mail to be carried twice a week in four horse stages. From Charlotte to Wilkesboro', the contract was taken by Mr. Newland, at present held by Mr. Massey. The line from Greensboro', through Salem, Salisbury, and Charlotte, to Yorkville, S. C. is retained by Mr. Moring, the present contractor, to run in four horse post coaches. Col. Thomas Boyd continues the line from Charlotte to Camden.]

The Baltimore Republican gives the following explanation of the recent elections in Maryland.

"After all the boasts of the Anti-Jackson party, it will excite some surprise, in our friends abroad, to find that the actual majority of popular votes against us is very small; and that with a majority of forty eight delegates in the lower house, they have less than five hundred votes of the people. For every ten votes of a popular majority they have one delegate majority. Putting the case in another light, and deducting eight delegates elected in St. Mary's and Calvert, where the Jackson party had no ticket,

and we have a majority of popular votes exceeding one hundred, while they have a majority of delegates amounting to forty. This is owing to the gross inequalities which exist in our mode of representation, the small counties carrying equal weight with the largest in the house of delegates, and double the weight of Baltimore City. In some of the small counties, the Clay party have succeeded by such slender majorities, that notwithstanding the vast majority which they have in the Legislature, a very few votes would revolutionize the State."



Salisbury:

NOVEMBER 16, 1830.

The Senior Editor of this paper will be absent from this place for several weeks, after Wednesday next.

If those who profess to be statesmen and politicians and who have, in some measure the reins of government in their hands, are so little skilled in the nature of Republics—so little learned in the causes which contribute to their stability or downfall—if they are so ignorant of the fact that the Grecian and Roman Republics were hurried on their ruin by the extension of their dominions, it would be well if they would even now, commence to consider the deleterious consequences which must grow out of a further extension of the territory of the United States. Something was said some time ago about the purchase of Texas. What a rumscale scheme it would, indeed, be to purchase that country! We have already more territory than we know how to dispose of. If the representatives of the Nation wish to preserve the free form of government—if they desire to permit the people to retain the right of sovereignty in their own hands they must not extend the present dominions of the United States government. The effect of such a course of policy must be to raise up other conflicting interests in the administration of the government, between which we have already had some fearful jarrings that have shaken its stability and loosened its compactness. To increase the territory of the United States would be to add to the present number of States in the Union, in which event, it would be morally impossible to exercise that rigid authority over the States and to observe that strict and impartial attention to their interests, when so far remote from the seat of government, and which would be absolutely necessary in order to preserve harmony and contentment among the various members of the confederacy. The difficulty having already exhibited itself to conduct a satisfactory administration of affairs which intimately concern the welfare of the present states that have been admitted into the Union, we cannot think it prudent to burden the hands of the general government with an addition of weighty business under the pressure of which it would assuredly sink into anarchy or despotism. We cannot even think it prudent to admit more states into the Union which will grow up from the present territory belonging to the United States. As Colonies under the protection of the general government they should be permitted, when necessary, to form a national council for the regulation of their own concerns. If men will calmly and coolly consider this subject they will find that such a course in disposing of that extensive Western Territory will not only be the most humane but the most politic we could possibly pursue towards a country which must, at some time or other, have a separate and independent government of its own. When it is made manifest that we cannot receive more members into the bosom of the confederacy, without jeopardizing our own freedom and independence, how glorious and disinterested a spectacle! how great a sacrifice! to surrender a perpetual source of wealth to the Nation in order to secure the liberties, welfare and happiness of a people who live at a distance from us, and to whom we know and feel we cannot do that justice to which their equal station and uniform rights would entitle them! How must they applaud our frankness and generosity who could be thus plain and thus liberal to them!

It is time that the attention of this Nation should be occupied in deliberate consideration of a subject, important not only to our own safety and well-being, but to the safety and interests of that great body of people so rapidly springing up beyond the borders of the Mississippi river. The most important of the many questions of moment which would present themselves in deciding upon the question, and which would show the necessity of pursuing the policy here recommended, would be the one, whether the government of this Nation will submit to extend its dominions at the peril and extreme hazard of its free institutions, or whether it will lay aside, at once, all sordid and selfish views of interest and emolument, and declare against any more additions to the body-politic, already too unwieldy and expansive. We would at all times be willing to extend protection to the country and its inhabitants, and when sufficiently populated, add them to the confederacy.

of their own after the manner and example of these United States. That such a state of things must at some future day exist is beyond all question. Experience, the best of masters, must teach us to know that a republican government of any kind cannot extend itself, as our government, over too great an extent of country. It is useless to say the time may be distant, when we shall see the several sections of the Union scrambling and growling for a division of those lands, which, if retained by the Union longer than the public debt is discharged for the payment of which they are pledged, will most assuredly be the cause of some disturbances, and may eventually in a dissolution of the Union. We need only wait for the time when four or five more states shall be added to the Union from the West and North West when we may fairly calculate to witness a scene no less risky to the feeling heart of the patriot.

Montesquieu in his chapter upon the constitution of England says "that the political liberty of the subject is a tranquility of mind arising from the opinion each person has of his safety. In order to have this liberty, it is requisite the government be so constituted as one man need not be afraid of another." Whether in the days of Montesquieu there was an actual and practical distinction between civil and political rights as branches of the great body politic, we are not sufficiently instructed to venture any positive assertion, either pro or con. But surely there is a broad and marked line of difference between them, chalked out and strictly pursued in the administration of the concerns pertaining to the body politic in these republican days of liberty. The rights of individuals then are three-fold, natural, civil and political. When we speak of natural rights, we mean that each and every individual has a right to the free and uninterrupted enjoyment of his life, liberty and personal security. These the God of nature has accorded to all his children, and they cannot be violated, without a direct transgression of his laws laid down in the Great Book written for the government and preservation of every nation. Civil rights then are of a conventional origin, growing out of the friendly association of individuals who anterior to this Union were in the occasional exercise of their natural rights only, which were at all times liable to be broken in upon by some who might chance to harbor enmity against others from any cause, and thereby every individual was in continual peril and his life was an uninterrupted series of alarm. In this state of affairs, and from motives of self preservation was the first social compact formed which secured to each individual the enjoyment of his natural rights, with those of a civil nature whilst the course of his life was freed from anxiety, arising from the unrestrained liberty exercised by every man of taking away the natural rights of his neighbor when unwary by a sense of personal danger, or not impeded by the sentence of divine justice. The rights which were guaranteed to each individual in this association were called civil rights, and they are in only comprehended in the language which Montesquieu applies to political rights, to wit: a tranquility of mind arising from the opinion each person has of his safety, and we would add make the definition more complete of the peaceable and uninterrupted enjoyment of his property. In these words of Montesquieu all the privileges of a civil and political nature are not included. The language of Montesquieu then with us could be more aptly applied to civil than political privileges. Civil rights according to our understanding of the terms are all those rights which the laws of the body-politic assure to each individual, which laws are based upon the grand principles that led to the civil association. The right to make these laws is a civil right in the manner of making them is a political right. If the people composing the body politic or that every thirty thousand of them shall choose a delegate to make laws to govern the community, the right to elect and the right of the representative to have his voice in every act of legislation are political rights as contra-distinguished from civil. Then it follows that the rights to be elected a member of the Senate; the right to take a seat in the body of senators (to be a member of which he was chosen) are all political rights, since they emanate from the body politic. It is equally clear that the right to vote must likewise be denominated a political right. These are the three grand divisions of rights in civil Society and a free government. A sound and correct understanding of the true distinction between them, among the people generally, cannot fail to secure the perpetuation of the institutions of which they are the constituent elements. It has been said of the Americans, as we are usually termed, that a more general and diffusive knowledge of the rights of man does not prevail among any other nation of people known to the civilized world. This is a compliment of which it is no fault to boast and to be proud—but how long we are to deserve so much and such high reputation, remains for those who are now scattered over this vast empire and who are to succeed them, to determine. With so many facilities for acquiring this knowledge ourselves and transmitting the means of acquiring it to our descendants we may well calculate, that instead of leaving room for retracting the encomium which has been passed upon us, as a nation, we will be likely to astonish the people of Europe in a yet greater degree. Save the intelligence of the community from abatement and it will exhibit the glorious spectacle of perpetual union and ever-

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